

HOLDS LABOR LOBBY IS POWERFUL WEAPON

James A. Emery Shows Purpose Is to Influence Legislation.

AIM IS CLASS LAW

Brings Evidence to Prove Political Activity of Great Trust.

By JAMES A. EMERY, General Counsel National Council for Industrial Defense.

Is there a "labor lobby," and, if so, what is its purpose and method? To respond intelligently to this inquiry I must outline the political activities of the American Federation of Labor, whose whole legislative influence and machinery is directed through its legislative committee or "lobby" to the attainment of the measures which it demands.

I do not offer myself as a witness to the character of its activities, but, as its activities, I call to the witness chair those who direct them, those whom they direct, the charter which describes their object and the writings in which they outline to their followers their political goal and the means by which they hope to achieve it.

The constitution and by-laws of the American Federation of Labor, the proceedings of its officers, the measures which it introduces, and especially the declarations and running commentary of Mr. Gompers in the columns of the *American Federationist*, and his recent testimony before the House investigating committee demonstrate:

1. That the primary purpose of the formation of the American Federation of Labor was and is to influence legislation. That in pursuance of that object it removed its national headquarters to Washington, and for more than twenty years has maintained an active and able legislative committee, varying in number, but reinforced on occasion by calling in the paid organizers of the Federation or individuals or committees from various local or national unions.

2. That the members of the legislative committee continually engage in personally interviewing members of Congress, urging their support for the legislation introduced by the Federation, or their antagonism to that which it opposes.

3. That the Federation has been exempt from Sherman Law.

4. That the legislation demanded includes the exemption of labor organizations from the civil and criminal penalties of the Sherman act, the repeal of the law of conspiracy for labor unions, the abolition of injunctive protection for the personal or property rights of employer or employee during labor disputes, the emancipation of judicial power and efficiency by providing jury trials in contempt cases, the legalizing of the boycott, the regulation of labor in interstate employment through the instrumentality of the Government contract, and the denial of the right to buy or sell over time labor for overtime pay, the penalizing of efficiency in Government plants, and the recognition of the right of all civil employees of the Government to become affiliated with organized labor and with its support to direct demands against the public, the strike and the boycott, with all the circumstances attending their use against private employers.

5. That the Federation has constantly urged upon the constituent members of the A. F. of L., especially at the annual conventions and in the pages of the *American Federationist*, and the organization has adopted a policy of interrogating members of Congress as to whether or not they will support such measures. All affiliated unions are and have been for eight years pledged by resolution to support those who answer favorably, and defeat those who do not.

6. In pursuance of this plan and preceding the campaign of 1908, all members of Congress were asked to state in writing their approval or disapproval of labor's legislative demands. A conference of officers of the international unions was held in Washington and, as an initial step in the proposed campaign Mr. Gompers was instructed to proceed into Mr. Littlefield's district and accomplish his defeat.

7. Since 1906 this plan has been executed systematically and a "union card group" elected to and organized in Congress. It is now officially declared by President Gompers that the labor movement has "sixteen Representatives in the House, one in the Senate and a member of the Cabinet" and that these Representatives confer and caucus with the officers of the Federation of Labor, planning and concurring in systematic efforts to advance the measures demanded.

8. The demands and present Congress organized labor secured the passage of a majority of the dominant party in the House Committee on Labor and the chairmanship of that committee.

9. The direct influence of organized labor is apparently sufficient to force upon an unwilling party and secure the acquiescence of the President to the clause in the Sunday bill prohibiting the use of funds appropriated for the enforcement of the Sherman act against labor combinations which violate it.

10. The demands, activities and methods of organized labor and its political representatives are well known to the membership of both Houses, and apart from the merits of their proposals many of their activities are in themselves within their political rights as citizens. But to meet these demands and to secure the long course of judicial decision and the fundamental principles of government, business men have organized as in the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Taking up these propositions, let me indicate briefly rather than enumerate the evidence that sustains these conclusions.

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor declares in Article II, section 1:

"The object of this federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local trade and labor unions and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of central labor organizations in every city and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial or provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses."

As early as 1899 Mr. Gompers is found suggesting:

"Our conventions should formulate the legislation that labor demands and empower and direct the executive officers to take such action as will press the best results."

In 1904 the federation moved its national headquarters to the seat of government.

In 1904 the proceedings of the annual convention developed a serious difference of opinion over the value of the legislative organization at Washington, and one Barnes, a delegate of the Cigar Makers International Union, tried to amend the constitution by adding to section 1 of Article IX, the following:

"Provided that no labor lobby shall be maintained or money appropriated for such purpose."

The resolution committee reported:

against the proposal: It was opposed by Mr. Gompers and defeated.

Mr. Gompers and the Federationist disclose the report of 1,680 organizers who not only report their success in moulding State legislation but on occasion require are brought to Washington to reinforce the standing legislative committee.

The continuing report of the legislative committee discloses through the years of its operations constant interviews with members of the House and Senate, through whom it undertakes to procure the introduction and furtherance of its legislation.

The committee constantly reports its cooperative efforts with labor union members of Congress to attach riders to appropriation bills, the effect of which is to incorporate eight hour provisions and to restrict the expenditure of funds provided for the enforcement of penal law so that the Sherman act may not be enforced against labor organizations which violate it.

The legislation demanded is:

First—A measure variously known as the Pearce bill, the Wilson bill and now the Bartlett bill, the purpose of which is to make it the right of every employer to be employed or at all, or the good will of that business, shall cease to be property rights when associated in labor disputes and therefore not entitled to protection by injunction. These fundamental rights of property have been recognized and protected as such since men of our blood organized in the labor union.

Second—It is determined that labor organizations shall be exempted from the Sherman act in specific terms and that no act of a labor combination shall be unlawful or criminal unless the act of the combination would be unlawful if done by one person.

The purpose of this measure is to secure Congressional permission to carry on the boycott, condemned by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, the moral sense of our people and the unanimous decision of the State and Federal court of last authority.

The third demand is for jury trial in contempt cases, that the courts protecting employers and non-union members in labor disputes may be deprived of their inherent right to compel obedience to their orders and the enforcement of an injunction left to the chance and caprice of a jury, subject to the appeals that lie in every criminal prosecution.

A further effort has been made in the Lloyd bill to procure Congressional authorization for the organization of employment agencies, which might affiliate with the American Federation of Labor and press their demands in the public service and upon the people by the same means as industrial unions use against private employers. It has also been attempted to make it a criminal offence for an officer of the United States to pay a bribe to any person employed in a government factory, or to use any time measuring device by which the period taken to perform a given task could be ascertained and used as a basis upon which to exact an essential element in the cost of production, cut down cost and increase the efficiency of Government plants supported by the taxation of the people.

In April, 1906, a circular letter signed by Mr. Gompers was sent out to all the members of the House and Senate, asking them to state their individual views upon the legislation enumerated and demanded. The answers were published and circulated. Among the answers is that of the distinguished Speaker of the House, Champ Clark, who remarks:

"It strikes me that if the labor organizations are going into politics they would do well to help the men who are here and who are known to be their friends. In 1908 the effort to compel the acceptance of legislation demanded by attacking those members of Congress who did not approve or oppose it continued."

Labor Committee Unions.

The record of the House discloses that at the present session the majority of the members of the House Labor Committee are all union men, including Mr. Lewis of the miners' union, Mr. Maher of the batters' union, Mr. Buchanan of the structural iron workers' union, Mr. Casey of the plumbers' union and Mr. Nolan of the moulder's union. Organized labor rules the committee.

The nature of the campaign conducted by the Federation of Labor to compel the acceptance of its legislative demands is well known to members of Congress. It was powerfully described in the testimony before the House committee, not only by Mr. Littlefield and Mr. Watson, whom Mr. Gompers personally opposed as a candidate for Governor of Indiana because he would not accept the Pearce bill, but by Senator Beveridge.

While I believe that the legislative measures which the Federation of Labor proposes are vicious and un-American, efforts to procure class legislation in the interest of a small element endeavoring to protect its special interests from the general principles of law, I cannot doubt that they have a perfect right to oppose or assist those members of Congress who are unfavorable or favorable to their proposals, but I do not believe that they or any organization should possess the right of members to pledge candidates in advance as a condition of political support to favor and promote legislation of such a character.

The investigating committees of Congress have required the production of the books, papers and correspondence of the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense, and they properly scrutinized them with elaborate care. These committees have had convincing evidence that these great organizations of business men have engaged in legislative and political activities only to the limited extent that it was essential to protect the fundamental rights of employer and employee against the notorious effort of organized labor to secure legislation which subverted the rights of the special effort and purpose of the Federation of Labor and would deprive workmen and business men of the impartial protection of equal laws and equal remedies.

Although this effort is notorious the Senate committee would not permit the officers of the manufacturers' association to give evidence with regard to the legislative activities of the Federation, which in the interest of their members and the public they had been compelled to oppose, nor does either committee of Congress call for the production of the books, records and documents of the Federation of Labor, which in view of the significant admissions of their officers, would, no doubt, reveal the details of their effort to defeat Representatives who would not support the demands for class legislation and to build up, maintain and direct the activities of a group of union card Congressmen constantly conferring and caucusing with the guiding committee of the Federation of Labor, and the domination of a great committee of the House before which pends industrial legislation affecting the rights and privileges of thousands of employers and millions of non-union men.

SIX NEW TYPHOID CASES.

Bellevue Hospital Authorities to Ask for More Nurses.

Six new cases of typhoid fever were taken to Bellevue Hospital yesterday, making a total of ninety-seven patients suffering from that disease admitted to the hospital in two weeks.

The patients all live in the same general neighborhood as follows: 309 East Ninth street, 404 East Eighteenth street (two cases), 144 Seventh street, 144 Fourth street and 709 East Eleventh street.

It is understood that acting Medical Superintendent Mark L. Fleming of Bellevue, who has temporarily taken the place of Supt. George O'Hanlon, now on his vacation, will ask for an extra appropriation for more nurses. The nurses now at the hospital are overworked, it is said.

MITCHELL WILL DROP HEARST TO-MORROW

Friends Say It Will Be First Step in Beginning Real Fight.

TO CAMPAIGN IN TRUCK

Musicians, Canned Speeches and Noted Orators on Fusion Programme.

The active campaign of John Purroy Mitchell, fusion candidate for Mayor, will begin to-morrow morning.

From a source close to Mr. Mitchell it was learned yesterday that Mr. Mitchell's first campaign move will be to drop Hearst and his old ties and to announce his intention of sticking with George McAneny and William A. Prendergast in the fusion fight, on the principles of the fusion party.

Mr. Mitchell, Mr. McAneny and Mr. Prendergast have had many conferences recently in which the policy of making a public formal statement, cutting loose from Hearst and his old ties and announcing his intention of sticking with George McAneny and William A. Prendergast in the fusion fight, on the principles of the fusion party.

The latter had denounced both McAneny and Prendergast as traitors to the public, and Mr. Mitchell was told that to disavow their policy would be a tacit agreement that Hearst was right.

Mr. Mitchell was told that his only chance of winning was to make a shoulder to shoulder fight with his running mates and let the voters know that the three candidates are together in their struggle against Tammany Hall.

Says Mitchell Yielded.

Mr. Mitchell, according to his friends, yielded to the strength of the arguments, and the promised statement making public his views will be given over to-morrow morning.

It is said that the Mitchell statement will also contain Mr. Mitchell's assertion that he never really differed from his associates on the question of policy and that the only disagreement was on the terms of the subway contract.

Mr. Mitchell's campaign managers have been busy arranging his campaign for him. This will begin to-morrow morning and the managers have promised innovations in stump speaking which will force a change on the opposition.

One of the promised stunts will be a motor truck equipped for campaign purposes. It will have a large platform, and it is proposed to send Mr. Mitchell on the truck to thirty open air meetings each night.

The truck will have room for six musicians, three speakers, Mr. Mitchell and a chauffeur. It is expected that the truck will be used to make a few stump speeches for Mitchell before the Columbus leaves for South America on October 4.

It is expected that Col. Roosevelt's answer to the request to speak will be received to-morrow morning.

William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, and William C. Redfield, Secretary of the Interior, have already consented to take the stump for Mitchell. A schedule of their speeches has not yet been made.

Another important part of the Mitchell campaign will be the Women's Mitchell League, which will be organized by Mrs. Borden Harriman. Mrs. Harriman is now in Washington, but she will return to-morrow, and room in the Dime Savings Bank Building in Greeley Square, where the Mitchell Manhattan headquarters are, has been assigned to her for headquarters.

SAYS WIFE DETAINED HIM.

Broker Asks Police to Make Her Let Him Go.

Charles Mason Hall, an insurance broker, whose wife is suing him for a divorce, called up the police last night from the home of his wife in the Corwail apartments, 255 West Ninetieth street, and said that she was restraining him from leaving the apartment and was keeping him there against his will. He asked that a policeman be sent around right away.

Lieut. Hayes of the West 100th street station who received the call, told Mr. Hall that the police had nothing to do with domestic troubles, but upon Mr. Hall's persistent demand sent Policeman Conlon around to see what the trouble was.

Conlon rang the bell at the door of the Hall apartment and finally was admitted by Mrs. Hall, who insisted, however, that there was no occasion for calling in a policeman. In the living room of the apartment Conlon found Mr. Hall, Mrs. Hall and two daughters, Sybil, 14 years old, and Lucy, 10 years old.

The broker said that he had not visited his wife in five years, that he came to her apartment last night and that he would not let her go away again. Mrs. Hall said that she wanted her husband to remain with her and their children. Conlon told her she couldn't make him stay.

While Mrs. Hall was talking with Conlon Mr. Hall walked out of the apartment and went on his way. Mrs. Hall and Sybil, one of the daughters, are consoling themselves from recent illness. Neither Mr. Hall nor Mrs. Hall explained the reason for the husband's visit after so long an absence or his unwillingness to remain longer.

Mr. Hall is a member of the Exton-Hall Brokerage and Vessel Agency of 64 Wall street.

CELL FOR GIRL ROLLER SKATER.

Magistrate Discharges Prisoner and Censures Policeman.

Lillian McAnohr, 16 years old, a student in the Washington Irving High School, was roller skating in front of her home at 409 West Thirtieth street Saturday evening when Policeman George T. Valentine arrested her.

The girl was in a cell until Thomas F. Clarke, a bailor, of 428 West Thirtieth street, gave \$500 bail for her appearance in court.

Magistrate Marsh in the West Side court yesterday discharged the girl and censured the policeman.

BLAMES SUFFRAGE FOR VICE FILIPINO SLAVERY

Advocates of Islands' Autonomy Fear Effect of Disclosures on Americans.

PLAN ACTION IN CONGRESS

Jones of Virginia Issues a Statement Assailing Worcester and Phipps.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 21.—The controversy as to whether or not slavery exists in one form or another in the Philippines will have the result of precipitating a general discussion of the entire Philippine question in Congress, according to the outlook here. Such a discussion was not down on the programme for the present, as consideration of the Jones bill for Philippine independence had been deferred for this session at least.

That the discussion is surely coming, however, was indicated by a statement given out today by Representative Jones of Virginia, author of the bill for Philippine independence. The statement was called forth by the publication of the substance of the report of Insular Auditor Phipps confirming in general and in detail the original statement made by Dean C. Worcester, until recently Secretary of the Interior in the Philippines, that slavery and traffic in human beings exist in the islands.

The Jones statement is an attack on the Phipps and Worcester reports. It denounces Mr. Worcester as an enemy of the Philippines, and declares that all the charges about the existence of slavery are due to chagrin on the part of Republican officials who have lost or are about to lose their jobs. The whole campaign is directed, Representative Jones says, to discredit the Filipino people.

Representative Jones, who is regarded as the ally of Delegates Querson in trying to bring about the independence of the archipelago at once, views the Phipps report as a blow to the people of the United States with regard to the fitness of the Philippines for independence.

The fervid desire for immediate independence for the Philippines is, according to the best evidence obtainable in Washington, shared by comparatively few persons of official and political prominence. It is conceded by those who are straining every endeavor in behalf of the Jones bill that if the American people are persuaded that the Philippines practise slavery in some form or another the verdict will be that the archipelago is not fitted for political independence at this time.

Americans who have returned from the islands are inclined to regard the custom of imposing involuntary servitude on members of the so-called "non-Christian tribes" as something inevitable. They point out that the average Negro or other non-Christian Filipino is satisfied with his lot when practically owned by another.

Clanking the Transaction.

As was shown in the Phipps report, in every known case of a Negro boy or girl being sold the victim passed through several hands before being delivered to the ultimate purchaser and usually the transaction then took the form of a baptism and adoption in the purchaser's family, or was a piece of taking pity on a poor orphan child.

The Phipps report gives instances of attempts made by American officials to break up the practice in their district by prosecutions. This was most difficult, however, because of the obstacles placed in the way of getting evidence.

Such consideration of the situation is not, however, given to it by the members of the school, which is working for immediate independence. This is shown by the Jones statement, which says:

"I have not read the Phipps statement, but I understand it is a reproduction of the slavery and peonage charges contained in the Worcester report, which should not be regarded as official, notwithstanding that the cost of its publication was charged to the Filipino people. It was an utterly unauthorized and voluntary statement on the part of a man quite generally regarded as the worst enemy of the Philippines."

"It is believed by those thoroughly familiar with the situation in the Philippines that more cases of slavery and peonage in proportion to the population can be found in the United States than in the Philippines. Everybody in the Philippines understands the animus of Commissioner Worcester."

"It is a fact that cannot be gainsaid that the laws against slavery and peonage in the Philippines are more drastic than those of almost any State of our Union, including the District of Columbia. If it be true that slavery actually exists there it is an eternal reproach and shame to the United States."

At a meeting of bankers representing thirty-three national banks and twenty State banks and trust companies in the nineteenth congressional district, comprising the counties of Cambria, Blair and Bedford, held at Johnstown, Pa., on September 13, resolutions were passed objecting to some of the provisions of the pending currency legislation on the ground that they would curtail the power of the banks.

It was held that the plan to compel national banks to accept 3 per cent. bonds in payment of their 2 per cent. bonds was contrary to the conditions under which the 2 per cent. bonds were bought. Compulsion to accept the new bonds would curtail the power of the banks to control the amount of subscription. The suggestion that the national banks should be required to accept 3 per cent. bonds in payment of their 2 per cent. bonds was also rejected.

The provision that country banks should keep at the end of a certain period 12 per cent. of their deposits in reserve was opposed as excessive and a maximum reserve fund for the country banks was recommended. Finally the bankers objected to the savings department legislation as unnecessary.

BIG DINNER FOR ROOSEVELT.

Farwell Banquet to Be on New York Roof Garden, Oct. 3.

Plans for a big dinner to Col. Roosevelt to be given on October 3, just before his departure to South America, are now well under way. As guests with Col. Roosevelt will be the officers of the Progressive National Service and the Progressive Service.

A committee of 140 has been selected, which will have charge of the arrangements. Among those on the committee are Mrs. Hamilton Fish, Jr., Mrs. Douglas Robinson, Mrs. Ralph Sanger, Mrs. Lorillard Spencer, Mrs. Albert J. Beveridge, Mrs. Oscar Straus, Guston Bond, Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott, Mrs. Gouverneur Morris, Mrs. Amos Pinchot and Gen. H. Winslow Williams.

The dinner will be on the New York Roof Garden. The speakers have been selected to date, former Senator Albert J. Beveridge, Col. Roosevelt and Raymond Robins. O. E. Cosare, the cartoonist, will prepare a symbolic drawing for the menu.

AGREE ON COTTON TAX.

Southern Leaders Frame Substitute for Clarke Amendment.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 21.—Southern Democratic leaders in Congress to whom was committed the task of working out a substitute for the Clarke cotton tax amendment have agreed.

The substitute is along the lines of the Smith-Lever amendment. It provides nine standards of commercial cotton and requires that whenever a tender in cotton for future delivery is called upon for settlement he shall be required to make good on the basis of value of one of the nine standard grades. Failing to do so he shall be penalized by a tax of 10 cents a bale for each bale of cotton covered by his contract for which there was no actual delivery.

The only point confronting the conference is to put the substitute in language that will not be open to misconception or be rendered invalid by the courts.

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Gov. Forbes, Commissioner Worcester and their American associates on the Philippine Commission.

Assault Mr. Worcester.

"Because the native Assembly refused to admit the laws of the Philippines were not sufficient to punish slavery by enacting legislation framed by Worcester he is taking this means of slandering those poor people with a view of course to creating sentiment in the United States adverse to their independence."

"I understand he has been employed by a society incorporated under the laws of Delaware for the exploitation of the Philippines and he probably is now on his way to the United States to deliver lectures in which he will depict the poor Filipinos as savages utterly unfit to govern themselves."

"Nobody denies that slavery and peonage both exist to a certain degree among the Mohammedan inhabitants of the islands of Jolo and Mindanao, which have practically been under the control of Worcester for years, and it cannot be denied that no great effort has been made to eradicate either. Indeed, it is well known that the Government has shut its eyes to its existence."

"All of this talk of slavery and peonage is therefore the dying and despairing wail of American officials appointed by Washington who are embittered against the Filipino people because of reluctance to be separated from lucrative jobs and should not be accepted at their face value."

"One of the remarkable things about the Worcester report is that in making his charges he attacks even former friends in order to establish his charges."

INQUIRY THIS WEEK

AT UNION SEMINARY

Presbyterian Committee to Investigate Its Teachings.

On next Thursday, when Union Theological Seminary formally opens, the Rev. Dr. William Adams Brown, one of the Union professors and known to be close to President Brown and often to speak for him, will give the address upon the subject of "Union Seminary and the Church."

The occasion is to be taken advantage of, so it was said at the seminary yesterday, to give in advance the seminary's position in view of the investigation by a general assembly committee in behalf of the Presbyterian Church on Friday.

Three eminent lawyers are to look at the legal side. The investigation will be held in this city. Union Seminary was started independent, but it is charged that its charter and all of its laws for many years gave strict adherence to the Presbyterian standards. During that time much money was bequeathed to the seminary. Now it is charged that the seminary does not teach the standards, but some other things.

It was said at the seminary yesterday that the number of new men coming to Union this year will reach 120. Last June the seminary graduated the largest class in its history. Asked if this means that Protestant churches want a liberal theology, one of the speakers of the higher criticism, the reply was that the public could draw its own lessons.

It is known that three students from the General Theological Seminary in Chelsea Square have left it for Union Seminary, charging the General Seminary with being unprogressive.

At Union the authorities said they

constantly got men from ultra orthodox institutions. One of the three was seen yesterday. He said his theology was all right; the liberal was cheap, and he was going to the Union for better methods, not better theology.

The defence heretofore made by Union of its independent stand is that it gets on better when not identified with any church than when it is.



The dictionary defines the word "cheap" as meaning—

1. Inexpensive.

2. Of little value.

Most persons have learned to their sorrow that a low price doesn't always mean a bargain.